SYDNEY ANARCHO-COMMUNISTS

BULLETIN 3

DEC2020

STONEWALL WAS A RIOT

against police brutality

NO COPS AT PRIDE

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF COUNTRY

We acknowledge that the land that we have been meeting on, organising on, and living on is stolen land. It belongs to the traditional custodians who never ceded their sovereignty to the colonial forces of Britain who, with brutal force and malicious cunning, invaded over 200 years ago. First Nations people have been engaged in a war of resistance ever since, and settlers must acknowledge their complicity in the structures of hierarchy which have facilitated their domination, and strive to be genuine allies in this de-colonial resistance. Colonialism is the product of the illegitimate hegemony of capitalism as facilitated by the state, whose falsified national borders justify the racism and oppression which continues to affect Indigenous people, refugees, and ethnic minorities globally today. This is why de-colonial struggle does not exist in isolation; it is at the heart of our resistance to capitalism, the state, and interacts with all illegitimate hierarchies which foster oppression and exploitation in these names.

We acknowledge the sovereignty of the Dharug, the Kuring-Gai, the Dharawal, the Comma, the Cammeraigal, the Borogegal, the Garigal, the Cadigal, the Wangal, the Wllumattagal, the Bidjigal, the Boorooberongal, the Cabrogal, and the Gweagal people, and any other nations on whose land we reside in the so-called Sydney region. We pay our respects to elders past, present, and emerging on each of these lands. We acknowledge that the ally-ship of settlers in our spaces will more often than not be inadequate and require a constant state of re-learning, however, we hope that we can put into practice the principles of de-colonisation to the best of our ability, and remain committed to the enactment of these principles.

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THE MEANS AND ENDS OF REVOLUTION: ON ANARCHISM AND LENINISM

Toby Violet D'Mango

Marxism, particularly Leninism, has been the dominant tendency in the radical left in Australia's recent history. Anarchism by contrast has had a limited influence on Australian political forces, with the exception of notable forays by the Australian IWW as well as various sub-cultural groups or minor Anarchist organisations. This has resulted in the Marxist analysis of communism being the dominant narrative in Australia's radical left. This article intends to serve as a preliminary intervention to accurately stake the anarcho-communist position on the means and end of revolution in Australia's political terrain. More specifically, we hope to answer these questions: What distinguishes anarcho-communism from Leninism theoretically, practically, and historically? And why does this distinction matter for the political work we do day-to-day?

Historically, both Anarchism and Marxism emerged as theoretical and practical responses against capitalist exploitation in the 19th century, primarily in Europe. Marxists and Anarchists of the communist tradition developed an end towards which their movements strived: a classless, stateless, moneyless society, one where oppression and exploitation had been destroyed through a revolution against capitalism. Despite this broadly common goal, they differed greatly on the means to achieve it, and some specific features of what this goal entails.

The key theoretical uniqueness of Anarchism is the principle of the coherence of means and ends. The end of anarcho-communism is to win a world where workers manage the means of their work and where society is democratically organised by all members. This cannot be achieved by using means that divorce those who hold real power in society - the working class - from realising those ends, such as the state or intermediate capitalist forms of production. Anarchists see the state and the capitalist class as barriers to a communist society, and see the solution in overcoming it in building the capacity of the workers themselves to self-organise and build the social and political institutions to manage their own work. In contrast, Marxists argue that wielding the levers of the state is not a means counterposed to the eventual implementation of communism.

From an Anarchist perspective, to wield the state is to take the revolution halfway before driving it off a cliff. The intentions or ideas of a revolutionary force matter far less than the means they use to achieve it. By using the means of the state, Marxism invests the power of the working class into a managerial class - the party - whose role it is to manage transition to communism. This managerial class necessarily has interests divorced from those of the workers, in the same way that the union bureaucracy has interests divorced from the rank and file members of the union. The interest of this class is to maintain its own specific grasp on political

dominance, meaning it is susceptible to compromise and capitulate on behalf of the working class to protect their own interest. The end of this bureaucracy - communism - is surrendered to its means - the party - and thereby the revolution is surrendered to state management.

The result of surrendering the state to a revolutionary bureaucracy is that a capitalist form of economy is implemented to preserve the interests of the state, extensively in the name of the development of communism. This is no better exemplified by the result of Leninism in Russia, where a mass, organised workers' uprising that overthrew the Tsar was tamed by the Bolshevik bureaucracy, providing the opening for the reintroduction of capitalist modes of production from the managerial class. The compromises and capitulations by the Bolsheviks has little to do with a revolution betrayed, as the result of their politics is not merely the result of the ideas of specific revolutionaries. It instead is the result of investing the means of revolution into the hands of a specific managerial class, rather than dismantling the means of capitalist exploitation and investing power in worker self-management. Malatesta perhaps summarises this best:

In reality, nobody could be in the position to establish a revolutionary dictatorship if the people had not previously made the revolution, thus showing effectively that it is able to make it; and in this case dictatorship would only step on the neck of the revolution, divert, strangle, and kill it.

A key argument levied against the Anarchist theory of revolution by Leninists is that the state is a necessary force to defend against a revolutionary counter-attack by the bourgeois class. This argument is peculiar as it implicitly assumes that the state is the most potent or viable force to organise society. The state as we understand it was historically developed as a way to protect the capitalist class from the growing power of the proletariat, and to legitimise and organise the methods of primitive accumulation and capitalist management. Thus the state as it currently exists is a necessary barrier to revolution, existing as the embodiment of force and coercion to maintain the power of the capitalist class. Social organisation is not dependent on the state to institute it, as in fact much of the social organisation we desire is constituted through unions and social movements, and we understand power as arising from these movements rather than the state. Reactionary forces, both ideological and material, are far better defeated through working class organisation and self-management, as this power runs far deeper than the imposition of the state.

To summarise: the state realises its power through violence and coercion, rather than self-management, mass organisation, and collective freedom. The state cannot divorce itself of this violence and coercion, without failing to effectively function as a state in its present form. This then leaves two choices for how we approach the state in revolution. One choice (that taken by Marxist-Leninists) is to apply the violence and coercion of the state to maintain the revolutionary force, which contradicts an alignment between means and ends and generates a

new managerial class of its own. The other choice, taken by Anarchists, is that the state must be dismantled, and that a new form of social and political organisation grown in the shell of the old society must take its place. In which case, the pertinent political question is: how do we dismantle the violence and coercion of the state, and replace it with a revolutionary force capable of moving society towards communism? This is the revolutionary question that Anarchists take up. For this reason we argue for more than the political revolution proposed by Leninists, but a social revolution, the distinction and effect of which is again well argued by Malatesta:

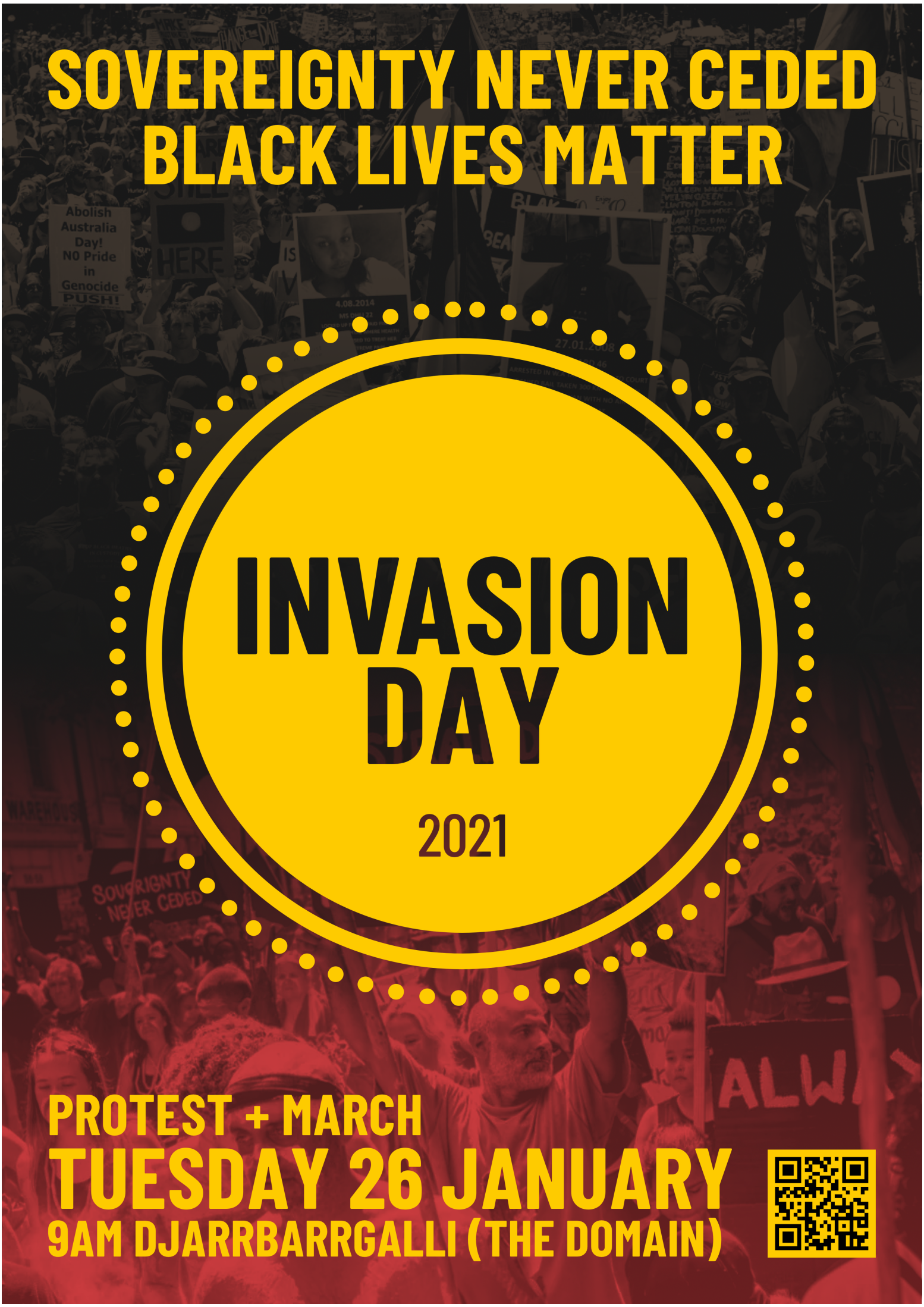
> ***In a political revolution proposing only to overthrow the government and leaving intact the existing social organisation,a dictatorship may seize power, place its men in the posts of the deposed functionaries, and organise a new régime from above. But in a social revolution where all the foundations of social life are overthrown, where production must be quickly re-established for the benefit of those who work, where distribution must be immediately regulated according to justice, a dictatorship could do nothing. Either the people will provide for themselves in the various communities and industries or the revolution will be a failure.***

Therefore, by revolution we mean something quite different than what is proposed by Leninists. This revolution is one where social ideas and the force of communism are salient in society, won through argument and example of Anarchist forces, enough for organised forces to dismantle the state through a general strike of workers and to take the means of production and social organisation into their own hands. These actions are taken by the workers themselves, rather than by a managerial class or party, thereby giving them the autonomy to re-organise society in their interests. This revolution is defended by the working class, and indeed with the means to dominate society thoroughly dismantled, the ability to seize managerial power over society is greatly diminished.

We argue these differences not just to clear the historical record but because these debates greatly influence our revolutionary strategy. The goal of anarcho-communists is not to build a revolutionary party which will insert itself as a managerial class in the revolution. Instead it is to win the majority of people over to the ideas of Anarchism and build the economic and political institutions capable of organising society and overthrowing the state. To achieve this, Anarchists must build the power of movements and agitational mass organisations themselves, in accordance with the idea that to build a world of equality and self-management, this world must be practiced and realised by the workers themselves.

With thanks to Luke A for their contributions and edits and Jelena for brainstorming and ideas.

SOVEREIGNTY NEVER CEDED
BLACK LIVES MATTER



INVASION DAY

2021

PROTEST + MARCH
TUESDAY 26 JANUARY
9AM DJARRBARRGALLI (THE DOMAIN)

ON THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

Anonymous

The Russian Revolution is one of the clearest and most inspiring examples of the potential for workers to take power in world history, where the working class revolted and radically changed the social and economic relations upon which society was based. However, it also serves as a demonstration that the wrong strategy for revolutionary change can be deadly. While anarchists should applaud and recognise the significance of the revolutionary period, it is vital that we continue to critique, reflect upon and understand how a worker's uprising against a monarchy morphed into the bureaucratic authoritarianism of Stalin's regime.

It is important to foreground an analysis of worker power by distinguishing between worker control and worker self-management, in order to understand what truly represents a break from a class-based society and what fundamentally changing the relations of production entails. While control implies directing, administering, supervising or checking decisions made by others, self-management means 'the total domination of the producer over the productive process',[1] not simply partial oversight. As we know, the economic and social relations of production are the bedrock of any society. In class-based societies, producers are separated from the means of production and alienated from the products of their labour. Essentially, producers do not manage their own production process, but rather it is managed by another bureaucratic agency, whether that be the state or a private entity. Consequently, a system where producers i.e. workers are 'subordinated to those who manage productive processes'[2] is still a class based society. This distinction is important in the historical context of Tsarist Russia and the revolutionary period, because it illuminates that the Bolshevik conception of 'taking power' was an incomplete and perverse strategy which focused on wrestling political power from the bourgeoisie, rather than facilitating the autonomy of workers to take true power for themselves through self-management of workplaces and industry.

Throughout the revolutionary period, there were many forces preventing the Russian proletariat from taking power. These included bourgeois attempts to cling onto power, the sustained reformist opposition perpetrated by the Mensheviks, and the Bolshevik attitude to revolutionary strategy. While there were obviously material conditions which were not favourable to socialism in Russia at the time, the latter proved to be the most decisive element in the failure of the revolution for two main reasons: the separation of the party and the ensuing bureaucracy from the rest of the class, and the primarily political nature of the Bolsheviks' attempt at taking power.

1 M. Brinton, The Bolsheviks and Workers Control (Solidarity, London 1970).
2 M. Brinton, The Bolsheviks and Workers Control (Solidarity, London 1970).

THE PRE-REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD

In pre-revolutionary Russia, the autocratic Tsarist regime was primarily feudal, with a burgeoning industrial capitalist economy in the process of development. This meant that swathes of peasants began migrating from the country to the city to participate in poorly waged factory labour during the early part of the century. Before the events of 1917, the workplace was a harsh place for factory workers. Long hours, poor wages, and a high rate of workplace injury and death led to mass discontent within the working class, which, combined with widespread opposition to Russia's involvement in World War I, ultimately led to the beginnings of struggle against the regime— an articulation of the historical progression of the contradictions inherent to capitalist relations of production.

In 1905, women started a riot over bread prices that spurred on strikes and occupations across the city, which were defeated only with significant effort from the monarchy. The Black Sea battleship Potemkin even mutinied and fired on officers at port, sailing to Romania to defect. Lenin rightfully described the revolts of 1905 as the practice run for the 1917 revolution, later taking up the slogan "peace, bread, land" in opposition to the Tsar. Russia was crippled by WWI and was hardly able to keep up the industrial production necessary to fight the Germans, socialists were highly organised within the conscript army, and conditions on the home and war front were horrible. These conditions subjected both peasants and workers to extreme exploitation, and, coupled with widespread discontent regarding Russia's involvement in the war, formed the conditions for workers to begin to agitate against their overlords.

In February of 1917 the Tsar was deposed and a bourgeois provincial government under Kerensky was put in place, with the socialists occupying a significant portion of the parliament. The bourgeoisie failed to end the war and instead launched a disastrous offensive. In October mass strikes broke out again, including the establishment of factory committees which deposed management and carried out the management of industry and production by workers themselves. However, immediately following the events of 1917, the Bolsheviks, aided by the power vacuum created by organisational problems in the factory committees, took advantage of the weakened government and seized executive control, thus ultimately condemning the revolution to failure.

WORKERS SELF-MANAGEMENT IN FACTORY COMMITTEES

The factory committees in Russia were democratically run workers' councils and were directly accountable to their industries and workplaces. Unlike the Soviets, which were eventually subsumed into the bureaucratic union structure run in a top-down fashion by Bolshevik party

bureaucrats, they were based on principles of worker self-management. The factory committees were organisationally separate from the Soviets and bureaucratic unions dominated by the Bolshevik party as they were directly run by the workers on the shop floor, with the goal of managing their own productive forces. It was not the Soviet socialists or party members who took up the fight to win concessions and improve conditions in the factories, it was the efforts of workers who took collective control to demand changes to the way their workplaces and industries ran. The eight hour day, for example, was not delivered by state officials or union bureaucrats in the name of socialism, rather, it came about because workers in Moscow and Petrograd applied pressure from below to the Soviets, self-organised and simply refused to work more than eight hours at a time. This led to the Soviet leadership conceding to the workers' demands, despite their position that it was too radical of an idea to adopt.

'All power to the Soviets', a term originally coined by anarchists, was assumed by the Bolshevik party who in practice rejected the notion of worker self-management. Despite their conviction and relentless efforts in seeking to overthrow the bourgeoisie, the seizing of political control by the Bolsheviks resulted in the factory committees being subsumed into a quasi state, and re-established authoritarian relations of production with bodies separate and above the proletariat tasked with managing production. The transitional political program of Trotsky and Lenin, dominant during the revolution, caused workplaces and industries that were controlled by the Soviets to be nationalised, rather than collectivised in a program of unmediated self-management by workers. This continued the capitalist relations of private property and preserved the wage system, essentially creating a bureaucratic state structure controlled by a novel class of professional revolutionaries who sought to quell dissent from workers in the name of protecting their 'revolution'.

But why did this occur? According to Pierre Broué, a French historian and Trotskyist revolutionary, 'Those in the Bolshevik party who were the most favourable to the Soviets only saw in them, in the best of cases, auxiliaries for the party… only belatedly did the party discover the role it could play in the Soviets, and the interest that the Soviets presented for increasing the party's influence with a view to leading the masses'.[3] The strategic outlook of the party as a distinctive entity to the Soviets was, ultimately, an expression of the internalisation of the very bourgeois way of thinking that the Bolsheviks were attempting to fight against. The concrete division of people into the social categories of 'leaders' and 'led' is a consistent hallmark of ruling class ideology throughout history. The cadre within the Bolshevik party saw themselves as leaders of the revolution; hence any movement which was initiated by others was an object of suspicion. The Bolshevik party faced political persecution, which was a feature of the specific historical circumstances of Russia at the time, and were forced to adopt a clandestine approach to organisation. However, while support for the party was at times widespread and genuinely felt by workers, leadership ended up falling into the hands of a minority of profes-

3 P. Broué, Histoire du Parti Bolshevik (Editions de Minuit, Paris 1963) p 35.

sional revolutionaries, who despite their working class origin ended up losing contact with the class as they were integrated into the party apparatus. Members of the Bolshevik party, who were 'real living forces that provided the strength of the party'[4] could not control it because it was not accountable to the majority in any meaningful or concrete way. This is highly indicative of the Bolshevik conception of the relationship between revolutionaries and workers; the vanguardist ideology of the Bolsheviks denied the agency of workers to carry out the task of revolutionary emancipation for themselves, and instead took an approach of leading from above, which resulted in the party leaders being disconnected from the workers movement at a grassroots level and instead oriented to obtain political power above all else.

The failings of the Bolsheviks, combined with the weakened factory committees signalled the downfall of the revolution. The factory committees were a momentous achievement; they represented the highest form of class struggle and workers self-management throughout the revolutionary period. However, due to a lack of generalised consciousness, they failed to bring about the changes workers desired. The factory committees did not have clear and cohesive objectives or strategic direction, and they were therefore not able to comprehend or enact a path forward to revolution. This lack of self-consciousness and strategic orientation also meant that they failed to generalise struggle and only experienced fragmented gains.[5] The absence of such coordination led to a power vacuum that the Bolsheviks then capitalised on, which subsumed the factory committees into the ensuing bureaucracy and state centralised planning organs.

This points to the need for a cohesive and genuine intervention into the factory committees along anti-hierarchical lines by organised workers with strategic and tactical unity, in order to provide direction and clarity to worker-led movements from the bottom up. As we know, the liberation and emancipation of the working class are the tasks of the workers themselves. We cannot substitute a revolutionary party, which organises the working class or directs struggle in certain ways, for the class itself. The Bolshevik party essentially undermined social and economic change in the name of political revolution, rather than social revolution. Leninism conceives the party seizing political power to direct social and economic change, but this change can only be substantiated by the working class themselves, and therefore it is their power and revolutionary capacity we should seek to build. The need for leadership in any revolutionary context is indisputable, but the modes in which this power is exercised is crucial to the end result. This is why anarchism advocates for militants to be embedded as workers in sites of struggle, building the social and economic conditions and institutions for self-governance through example and argument. The ideas of anarchist thinkers, which predicted the inherent problems of seizing state power decades earlier, were verified by the events of the Russian Revolution, as the Bolshevik party soon began to act in ways that cemented their power and

4 M. Brinton, The Bolsheviks and Workers Control (Solidarity, London 1970).
5 M. Brinton, The Bolsheviks and Workers Control (Solidarity, London 1970).

sought to eliminate dissent. These methods can be observed in the state's response to the Kronstadt workers' rebellion in 1921 and the suppression of autonomously governed factory committees across Russia. Trotsky too supported the increasing dominance of a party managerial class over industry, including punishing workers who did not carry out the orders of the state. Trotsky, Lenin and the Bolshevik party seemed to be stuck in a transitional phase which provided no viable path to achieving full communism.

The workers' struggle, fuelled by mass uprisings and the dream of worker led governance, soon devolved into a centralised bureaucracy that developed separate interests to the working class and thus sought to quash uprisings they believed would threaten their power as a political class. The Bolshevik 'transitional' state morphed further and further into Stalinism, a centrally controlled state dictatorship which advocated for 'socialism in one country', with widespread repression of workers and revolutionaries who were not part of the party. Even before the civil war broke out, countless anarchists were killed and imprisoned by the Bolshevik secret police and many anarchist publications were forced to shut down, as worker control was progressively eroded by decree after decree. Lenin's claim that 'Socialism is nothing but state capitalist monopoly made to benefit the whole people',[6] was reflected in the historical progression of Bolshevism. The counter revolution was completed in 1921 with the suppression of the Kronstadt uprising, victory in the civil war, and the introduction of the New Economic Program (NEP). The wage system was officially endorsed; workers could have their wages docked or even be sacked for not following orders. The NEP led to unemployment, high prices, and low wages, which further served to discipline workers. While there was some opposition within the Bolsheviks, the move towards state capitalism in the USSR was now largely complete.

Bolshevism and vanguardism ultimately betrayed the Russian proletariat in favour of an organisational form which allowed a bureaucratic state apparatus to manage the economy, repress dissent, and maintain many of the capitalist economic and social structures that ordinary workers wanted to overthrow. Taking power means that 'the vast majority of the working class realises its ability to manage both production and society, and organises itself to this end.'[7] When a specific group, separate from the workers themselves, has control over managing production, workers cannot truly take power; the separation of productive labour from the means of production results in a society that is exploitative to its core. The fundamental question is about who manages production after the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, not just politically but socially. In Russia, workers did not succeed at taking power, in part because the management of the economy was taken over by some other bureaucratic force, facilitated by a flawed Bolshevik strategy that alienated them from the class at large.

6 V.I. Lenin, The threatening catastrophe and how to fight it (Soldiers' and Peasants' Library 1917).
7 M. Brinton, The Bolsheviks and Workers Control (Solidarity, London 1970).

THE KRONSTADT REBELLION

The events which occured in Kronstadt provide a prime example of how willing the Bolsheviks were to suppress grassroots worker activity in the name of preserving their political power. By 1921, the state bureaucracy of the Bolshevik party had significant control over the working class in Russia. Bosses were reinstated back into positions of power in factories, and the Bolsheviks assumed control of union bureaucracies. So, in March 1921, when the Konstadt worker rebellion put forward demands against state ownership and for direct worker control, the state bureaucracy was put in a bind between its socialist ideals and its material interest as a state apparatus.

A naval fortress in the Gulf of Finland, Kronstadt was traditionally a base of the Russian Baltic Fleet whose sailors had been at the forefront of the 1905 and 1917 revolutions. In February 1921, a wave of peasant uprisings flooded Petrograd, due to the compounding fuel, railroad and food crises. Workers across Russia had become disenchanted with the Bolshevik government during WWI, the Russian Civil War in the years preceding, and the harsh measures implemented in the name of the war effort. Food shortages, grain requisitioning and a hugely decreased industrial output led to abject poverty, with masses of people on the brink of starvation, while the Bolshevik government became increasingly interested in preserving Russia as a nation able to survive in the capitalist world order.

With the long period of conflict from WWI to the Russian Civil War having ended, which was a significant drain on Russia's resources, masses of people harboured expectations that the tight grip the Bolsheviks had on their lives would loosen, and material conditions would improve. This however did not occur, and soon the continued militarisation of labour, food shortages and harsh conditions were met with strikes across Petrograd, which in turn were met with calculated repression by the Bolsheviks. In response, a series of mass meetings were held at Kronstadt with sailors, Red Army soldiers, civilians and workers who were united with a common aim of rebelling against the absolutist control of the Bolshevik government, which they felt had failed at implementing the goals of the 1905 and 1917 revolutions. This revolt, which was referenced as 'the third revolution', brought with it the hope of abolishing the Bolsheviks' monopoly on power and delivering control of work and society back into the hands of the workers themselves, free from the yoke of the rapidly developing bureaucracy and trade union officialdom. While the Bolshevik government endorsed a bureaucratic approach to community and workplace organisation, as seen in their approach to factory committees, the people of Kronstadt sought to organise in a more grassroots manner. Throughout the rebellion, trade unions were re-elected in democratic elections, food rations were equalised. The Provisionary Revolutionary Committee was located in the centre of Kronstadt in order to be 'in closer touch with the people and make access to the Committee easier than on the ship,'[8]

8 Izvestia of the Provisional Revolutionary Committee of Kronstadt, No. 9, March 11, 1921.

which was a stark contrast to the appointment style of the Bolshevik leadership.

While initially the Bolshevik response to the non-violent revolution was limited, it was clear that it held a staunch stance against negotiation of any kind. There would be no conceding to the demands of the people, and following mass strikes, roadblocks and occupation, it became clear to the state that in order to successfully distinguish the burgeoning insurrection, a high level of force would be needed.

The revolt ultimately failed. Met with Bolshevik repression and little support from comrades across Russia and internationally, the underprepared uprising stood no chance against the harsh response from the state. As Alexander Berkman noted, the state made 'no concessions to the proletariat, while at the same time they were offering to compromise to the capitalists of Europe and America.'[9] It was clear that the Bolshevik government had transformed into a class which existed to preserve its own power, rather than to represent the will of the working class. On March 7th, the Red Army commandeered an attack on Kronstadt— the sailors who Trotsky had once deemed 'the pride and glory of the Russian Revolution' were now too large of a threat, and needed to be crushed. After spending days reorganising the armed forces, as many Red Army brigades refused to attack the Konstradt fighters, large swathes of soldiers, brought in especially from further east in Russia, stormed the fortress, inducing a bloody massacre that left 10 000 people dead, an unknown number of rebels killed, and over 4 500 exported to Crimea and the Caucasus. On March 17th, the Kronstadt rebellion was defeated; the people they had once trusted to carry out the will of workers across Russia had brutally and successfully quashed a workers' uprising, and with it the hopes and dreams for a revolutionary Russia. It was perhaps no surprise that mere months later Lenin formalised the re-implementation of a state capitalist economy in Russia through the NEP. As anarchists, it is obvious that this repression was inevitable. The power of state apparatus had ballooned, leaving behind the widespread support it had won through mass struggle and with that, became an entity that was now more concerned with protecting itself at any cost than enforcing the will of the working class.

IMPLICATIONS FOR REVOLUTION

The October Revolution in Russia was truly a momentous historical event. However, due to the opportunism of the Bolshevik party which led to the formation of a bureaucratic state apparatus distinct from the class, and the eventual repression of workers self-management in favour of seizing political control, it failed to bring about the liberation that so many ordinary workers desired.

The revolution shows the absolute necessity of working class self-organisation, as opposed to

9 Alexander Berkman, The Kronstadt Rebellion (1922).

a vanguardist approach. It shows the need for anti-statism in any revolutionary movement if it is to be truly a social revolution and not purely a political one, as states in whatever form they take will always reproduce class divisions. And finally, it shows the necessity for collectivisation rather than nationalisation of industries and workplaces through worker self-management, as opposed to simply winning control over them. Although the material realities of Russia such as famine and civil war affected the revolution's success, the inevitable rise of Stalinism speaks to the ideological and fundamental organisational flaws in the Bolsheviks' approach to revolution.

We should acknowledge that organised anarchists were not a significant factor in the Russian revolution and that this was a key determinant in its defeat. If we don't organise, we lose, and statist ideas will become dominant within revolutionary movements. As anarchists, we know that the revolution will only occur through the effort and organisation of workers themselves— an organised group of anarchist militants must be embedded in struggle in order to influence the trajectory of the social mass along revolutionary and anti-hierarchical lines— to eventually become irrelevant when class consciousness reaches a point where workers have the tools to organise themselves through workers councils, federations and militias. The point of a social revolution is that it must come from below, unmediated by coercive power structures that can suck the life out of any genuine workers' uprising.

TAKE OVER OXFORD STREET!

MARDI GRAS MARCH

TAYLOR SQUARE
2PM SATURDAY
06/03/21

COPS AND SCREWS OUTTA MARDI GRAS!

Pride in Protest

The movement to expel police from Pride parades has grown in popularity throughout the last decade. Famously, a Black Lives Matter sit-in at the Toronto Pride Parade in 2016 was successful in demanding the removal of the police from the parade. This demand was taken up and won successfully in later Pride parades in Auckland and San Diego. The call for solidarity between communities of colour oppressed by the police, the queer community, and the places they intersect, has manifested in calls to end the abuses of the police and prison system as well as ending the pinkwashing PR spins cynically employed by police forces.

The Pride parade in Sydney, called Mardi Gras, has had one of the most visible campaigns in the country to have police and corrective services removed from the Parade. Over the past three years Pride in Protest, a grassroots group, has moved motions at the AGM calling for the removal of the cops. While none of the motions have passed, the yes vote has changed from around 25% in 2018 to 45% in 2020, showing huge momentum behind anti-police sentiment and anti-racism in the queer community. An open letter from the community also went out in 2020 with the call for cops and screws to be removed from the Parade, with over a thousand signatures, including a number of prominent Mardi Gras artists. The workers who make Mardi Gras what it is are sick to death of cops pinkwashing their brutality as well.

The police being unwelcome at Pride for good will happen in Sydney - it's not a question of if, but when. For the 2021 Mardi Gras, Pride in Protest will bring the politics of a world without police, prisons, and borders for a Oxford Street March on the Saturday of Mardi Gras. While Mardi Gras, the incorporated association, has a pay-to-view ticketed Parade featuring cops, corporations and the Liberal Party at the SCG for 2021. Pride in Protest's march will be a free-to-attend Pride march in the spirit of 1978, not compromising on the politics of liberation for our queer community and all other oppressed communities. We encourage all those in Sydney to support the Taylor Square Mardi Gras march, and for those across Australia to fight against the cops from being a part of all Pride marches and from being welcomed as allies in our community.

Historically, the discourse surrounding sex work has been, ironically enough, rather voyeuristic. Patriarchal institutions both legislative and academic, women's movements, and other liberal and conservative forces have at different times tried to diagnose sex work as an individual failing, a symbol of degeneracy amongst the lower classes, and, perhaps most significantly, a symptom of broader societal anomie, exemplified in a line used by conservatives to denounce anything progressive, from queer liberation and civil rights to marijuana legalisation: "It's corrupting the youth! Think of the children!"

These forces cite concerns of morality, sexual purity, and patriarchal exploitation as the reason for their opposition to sex work as a practice. This propensity for conservatives, leftists, feminists, and misogynists alike to be concerned solely with the spectacle of respectability politics surrounding sex work is regressive and tremendously reductive for two key reasons. Firstly, it reinforces a binary and rigid conception of sex work as an inherently heterosexual, cisgendered profession under which female exploitation is an inexpugnable requisite. In reality, sex work has long been inextricably intertwined with the LGBTQ+ community, particularly the trans community. Sylvia Rivera, iconic gay liberation and transgender rights activist, poignantly summed up the subversive potential of sex work under a hetero-patriarchal capitalist system as "the only alternative we have to survive, because the laws do not give us the right to go and get a job the way we feel comfortable. I do not want to go to work looking like a man when I know I am not a man." Thus, sex work has historically been one of the few avenues by which society's most marginalised could not only earn a living but also overcome entrenched economic barriers through the direct extraction of profit from typically wealthier men—a radical notion in itself.

Secondly, and most critically for leftists to understand, is that sex worker exploitation is labour exploitation, and the rights of sex workers are as valid as any other workers in the anticapitalist struggle. The fact that global capitalism induces the conditions necessary for survival sex work and trafficking to take place is often erased in favour of a reductive narrative of patriarchal oppression. A common misconception perpetuated by industry outsiders is that the dynamic between a (presumedly) female sex worker and the male client is inherently exploitative. This simplistic analysis is indicative of a reductionist view of sex between cis men and cis women that places the power imbalance in the physicality of the interaction rather than the patriarchal systems and institutions within which it is situated. This assumption entirely erases the existence of the deeply entrenched, punitive legal and social structures that are imposed upon sex workers and are chiefly responsible for the the industry's propensity for violence and exploita-

tion. Violence and death are not inherent to the job; criminalisation and stigmatisation, enacted by the legislative and managerial forces that extract surplus value from the labour of sex workers, permit and exacerbate it. Because of this, sex work is by and large more precarious than licit forms of labour, though it may not be any more exploitative, financially speaking. The system under which this violent exploitation is enabled and thrives is, of course, capitalism.

THE 'EXPLOITATION' NARRATIVE

Women's rights activists have varyingly denounced and championed sex worker rights movements throughout history as they align with their interests. However, this support has often been performative and come at the expense of actually engaging with demands of workers themselves. In many cases, particularly prior to the decriminalisation movement, this has materialised in 'activists' co-opting narratives of exploitation in the sex industry to push a liberal bourgeois agenda. The inclination for feminists and leftists to perpetuate whorephobia via the advocation of sex work abolition is to embrace the very same archaic moral notions first derived from patriarchal organised religion. Sex work as synonymous with exploitation is a false equivalency that is constantly pushed by allegedly well-meaning liberal and radical feminists with paternalistic, condescending ideas about 'saving' workers. Those who are more concerned with issues of the 'ethicality' of the sex industry as a whole than addressing tangible labour issues within it are complicit in sex worker oppression and often advocate for and enact policy that directly endangers workers. This is clearest in the regressive 'Nordic model', under which sex workers themselves are not criminalised but their clients are, reproducing the same industrial conditions for exploitation as under criminalisation models.

WHAT CAN REVOLUTIONARY SEX WORK LOOK LIKE?

A truly radical conception of sex worker rights is one that recognises industry exploitation as a multifaceted phenomenon stemming from capitalist, patriarchal and colonial hegemony. Prioritising decriminalisation as a starting point rather than an end, the next step in sex worker emancipation is the reframing of sex worker rights as primarily an issue of labour exploitation stemming from capitalism at large rather than one singular mechanism of oppression, since sex work comprises various identities and professions. Perhaps the most radical yet underacknowledged dimension of sex work is that sex workers innately control both the means of production and the product themselves. Criminalisation, however, has been very effective at isolating and alienating workers from one another, diminishing the opportunities and conditions necessary for militant worker solidarity and organisation.

History has provided brief yet powerful visions of such cooperation. In 1975, for example, sex workers occupied the Saint Nizier church in Lyon for ten days, which resulted in the birth of International Sex Workers Day, celebrated each June 2nd to highlight the overwhelming

oppression and violence still suffered by sex workers worldwide. When looking for examples of sex worker unionisation, the legacy of the Lusty Lady co-op peepshow in San Francisco proves how a co-operative model founded upon worker solidarity, antiracism, and anticapitalism can dramatically improve worker quality of life and lessen, though not entirely eradicate, workplace exploitation and inequality.

Whilst not a perfect solution by any means, there is strong evidence that the implementation of a co-operative model throughout the sex industry is by far the most feasible and natural step in creating anarchist structures through which workers can self-determine under and in spite of capitalism. A co-operative brothel, parlour or strip club would drastically tilt the scales of power back towards the workers themselves, who even under decriminalisation still face exploitation at the hands of capitalists. Under the decriminalised industry in NSW, the main issues experienced by sex workers stem from exploitation at the hands of bosses. With an estimated 60% of NSW sex workers employed in brothels, parlours and strip clubs amongst other regulated establishments, illegal and exploitive practices such as obligatory 'shift fees,' late fines, lack of provision of free safe sex supplies, underpayment, and withholding of pay still remain rife under a system entirely lacking unionisation and job security.

Sex workers are also legally categorised as 'independent contractors' and are therefore ineligible for paid sick leave, work place compensation, and any guarantee of continued employment. At the crux of the issue is that workers themselves have no say in the percentage of payment that goes to the employer and possess no collective bargaining power to negotiate for higher rates, as well as zero agency over business operations in which they have a significant stake. A radical co-operative model would cut out the profiteering and exploitative middle man entirely. Brothels could operate much the same day to day, since business owners are frequently distant and establishments are often managed by ex-workers themselves who have regained employment as receptionists. A co-operative brothel could feasibly operate in much the same manner, however with the key difference that sex workers themselves would be equal stakeholders in the business and have full democratic agency over the proportion of profits redirected towards the maintenance of the co-operative and the management of these funds. Co-operative workers would also have full autonomy over services provided and hours worked, as well as employee status and job security.

In an industry that is already radical in the fact that profit is often extracted directly from the ruling, patriarchal class by workers of economically and socially marginalised backgrounds, it is no wonder that punitive criminalisation and oppressive structures of capital seek to suppress the conditions necessary for such industrial action. Whilst the existence of co-operative brothels alone will not dismantle capitalism and do contain inherent limitations inexisting under such a system, leftists and sex workers themselves must recognise the tremendously radical potential such a structure could provide and seriously consider the disruptive ramifications for

the capitalist patriarchy at large.

Like all professions, post-revolutionary sex work must be markedly removed from its current existence under the capitalist structures present in the industry today. Sex work as an individualised, isolated, alienating spectacle is an inherently capitalist experience, distilled to a greater extent under neoliberalism. However, its existence as a societal practice is of course not dependent upon the capitalist project. Our understanding of labour as value-based and exchangeable limits our ability to conceive of a revolutionary practice of sex work—no, sexual services should not be mandatorily provided to comrades in the name of mutual aid!—but that doesn't mean we should avoid considering the needs of sex workers in our struggle against the capitalist project now and into the future. Anarchist principles of grassroots democracy and worker self-management and self-actualisation can be applied to the vast majority of industries to positive effect—and sex work is no exception!

Evan Van Zijl

While Trumpism has networks of support amongst far-right white nationalists which Biden lacks, there is no doubt that the Democrats and Republicans are on a unity ticket when it comes to the agenda of deportation, privatisation, and war that creates the far right. The nature of this election cycle was seeded decades ago by the orientation of the US' corporate run political system, and whatever the result of the election it is vital that people be ready to resist the so-called 'leader of the free world' on the streets.

Despite the efforts of 'class struggle' Democrats in the midst of the Sanders campaign to break their party from corporate control, the class basis and politics of the Democrats has not truly changed. These campaigns to bring social movements into the Democrats for the purpose of reshaping the US have a long history with Jesse Jackson ushering the civil rights movement and black voters into the Democrats during his primaries campaign,[1] which ultimately weakened independent organisation on the left. While the rise of Sanders is a symptom of positive shifts in popular consciousness that we should be cautiously optimistic about, the attempts to elect 'organisers-in-chief' instead of building social movements and class struggle is not viable or supportable, and particularly not within the Democrats.

The Democrats are not a party of the working class in the way that even the corporate funded Australian Labor Party can try to claim, but rather a wing of US capitalism. The US Democrats are an open ballot line with minimal membership structures beyond committees that are linked to corporations,[2] in contrast to the affiliations most labour parties have to union bureaucracies and member branches. As a consequence their base - while definitely far more diverse than that of the Republicans - is not clearly supported by the working class of the US. Much of the working class are disenfranchised or disillusioned with major electoral forces, the most brazen example being that many ex-detainees (a large proportion of whom are over incarcerated Black and First Nations communities) are not per-

1 https://newleftreview.org/issues/i149/articles/manning-marable-jackson-and-the-rise-of-the-rainbow-coalition
2 https://prospect.org/politics/corporate-lobbyists-on-the-dnc-committee-blocked-climate-debate/

mitted to vote.[3] Despite being relatively popular and having a decisive victory, Bill Clinton only received the support of 24% of those who are eligible to vote in his campaign in 1996,[4] which is hardly the mass base of worker support you would expect in such a firmly two party system. The only selling point the Democrats have had to offer people for decades was the most cynical form of identity politics,[5] and the fact that they're not led by men going by the names of George Bush or Donald Trump.

This makes Biden, Clinton, Obama, and Gore more comparable, as candidates, to the Malcolm Turnbulls and Gladys Berejiklians of the world than to the degenerated and corrupt centre-left reformists with which most Australian voters are acquainted with in our electoral races (with the Trumpist Republicans being more in line with One Nation here). This clarifies why the Democrats have so wantonly embraced neoliberalism and imperialism with more drones in the Middle East under Obama than Bush,[6] support for coup d'etats of an elected government in Bolivia,[7] a rate of deportations of 'illegals' under Obama that saw him labeled the 'Deporter-in-Chief',[8] and a disgusting enthusiasm for privatisation without which neoliberalism would not have flourished so dramatically in the US. Biden is par the course amongst this hellpit for progress as a supporter of war in Iraq,[9] a fence sitter on abortion rights, author of the crimes act which expanded the prison industrial complex we are familiar with today, and was one of the Democrats who reinstated Bush' tax cuts. Furthermore he is the subject of sexual assault allegations, which former #MeToo activists have denied in the name of unity with the Democrats,[10] and while he does not support a wall at the Mexican border he and other Democrats did vote to build an electric fence.[11] We should not confuse ourselves into ridiculous notions like the idea that Trump is the lesser evil nor think that he is popularly supported by a mythic mass of white workers, but this should be indicative of the political orientation of the Democrats and why the results in the 2020 election are so close despite the heinous nature of Trumpism.

This is why we cannot rely upon the Democrats to mount a meaningful resistance to Trumpism - they do not genuinely disagree with it. Biden has made this clear with his stance that he and Trump are 'not enemies' and 'the next step is to turn down the temperature', and this has been foreshadowed by the Democrats' long focus on opposing Trump due to his incompetence and mismanagement, rather than comprehensively opposing Republican policies and budgets. In previous closely contested Presidential elections such as Gore vs Bush in 2000,

3 https://www.vox.com/voting-rights/21440014/prisoner-felon-voting-rights-2020-election
4 https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1996_United_States_presidential_election
5 https://medium.com/an-injustice/your-non-biden-vote-comes-from-a-place-of-privilege-7fac18121ade
6 https://www.thebureauinvestigates.com/stories/2017-01-17/obamas-covert-drone-war-in-numbers-ten-times-more-strikes-than-bush
7 https://zora.medium.com/democratic-candidates-are-fumbling-in-response-to-the-bolivian-coup-db0f6d4981f8
8 https://abcnews.go.com/Politics/obamas-deportation-policy-numbers/story?id=41715661
9 https://www.govtrack.us/congress/votes/107-2002/s237
10 https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2020/may/02/joe-biden-tara-reade-allegations-metoo-trump
11 https://www.senate.gov/legislative/LIS/roll_call_lists/roll_call_vote_cfm.cfm?congress=109&session=2&vote=00262

Melanie Mason
@melmason
Replying to @melmason
Biden says after election results are clear, next step is to "turn down the temperature." "To make progress, we have to stop treating our opponents as enemies. We are not enemies."
8:15 AM · Nov 5, 2020 · TweetDeck

the Democrats openly conceded the election to Bush in the name of unity despite voter fraud and a margin of only a few hundred votes.[12] The strategic lesson that the Democrats took from this, and the subsequent war Bush instigated in Iraq two year later which a majority of Democrats Senators supported, was to attribute their loss to Ralph Nader and the Greens[13] and relentlessly campaign against independent left organisations to the point of trying to get the Greens purged from the ballot this election.[14] We should see it as a genuine possibility that the Democrats will seek a rapprochement with Trump and his supporters so as to 'end division'.

We should expect that this strategy will not work. Going into the campaign Trump declared he will not accept the results of the election unless he wins.[15] Trump has already claimed victory[16] despite what seems to be at time of writing a loss in both the popular vote and in the electoral colleges. He has an enthusiastic base of white supremacists - many of whom are gun owners - that have already been protesting to stop the electoral count proceeding,[17] and in an ultimate Karen move he intends to proceed to have the election invalidated through a court featuring sympathetic appointees.[18] Luckily he seems to lack the support of the military[19] and has fraught relations with the FBI,[20] so a coup against democratic results in the form that the US has supported in other countries is not likely. However, Trumpism has not been dislodged from power and there is still a pathway for Trump to remain in the White House.

As anarcho-communists we need to be clear that Trump imposing his rule is not a trivial matter. Biden as a candidate is not supportable, and while I would've voted for a sizeable Greens or socialist campaign (for e.g Nader) to critically support those who are willing to break with the Democrats, I would not take time out of work to vote for Joe Biden who wishes to shoot BLM protestors in the legs,[21] and wrote the Crimes Act many people of colour are fighting today. But whatever our jaded views on elections we should not shrug and declare that it doesn't matter who is in government and how they got there. Several trade unions, and Black American clergy leaders, have called for a general strike against Trump[22] if he attempts to stay on as

12 https://twitter.com/DebraMessing/status/1324111840385900546
13 https://web.archive.org/web/20020526010840/http://seattlepi.nwsource.com/opinion/means4.shtml
14 https://www.greenleft.org.au/content/united-states-democrats-move-suppress-green-party-vote
15 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bO4mDcxTfG0&t=64
16 https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/video/2020/nov/04/this-is-a-trump-throws-baseless-doubt-on-vote-and-falsely-claims-victory-video
17 https://twitter.com/pattersonnbc/status/1324086177885003778?
18 https://abcnews.go.com/Politics/trump-argues-nominee-needed-supreme-court-time-vote/story?id=73192756
19 https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2019/11/military-officers-trump/598360/
20 https://www.washingtonpost.com/national-security/trump-wray-biden-barr/2020/10/21/6ce69f02-13b0-11eb-ad6f-36c93e6e94fb_story.html
21 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=h6KlC0GbaYk
22 https://paydayreport.com/10-major-unions-over-100-black-clergy-call-for-general-strike-if-trump-steals-the-election/

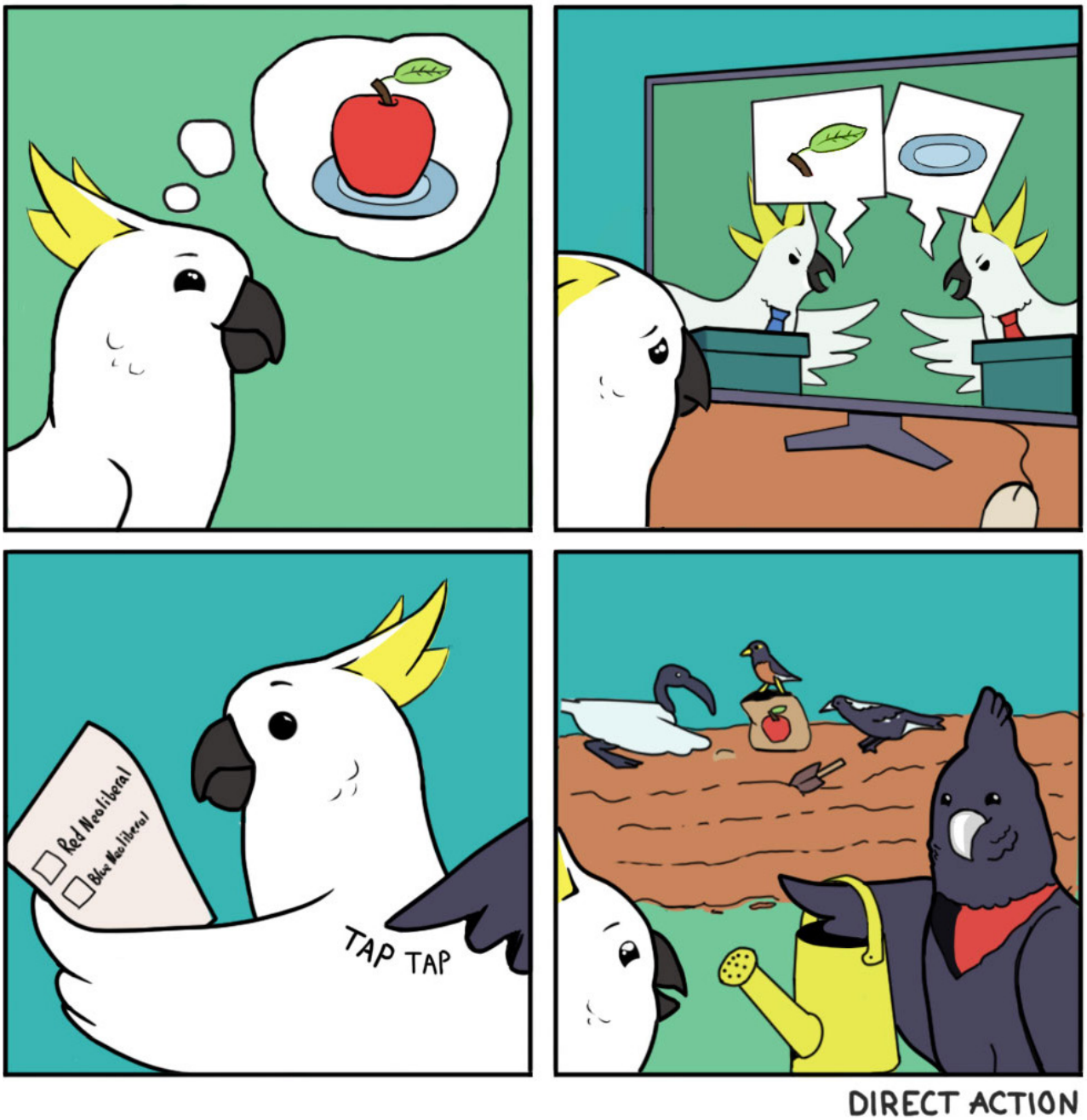
President despite his loss. As revolutionaries we should join working people in their resistance to Trump if it comes to it, and argue to extend the call to be less about just replacing him with Biden and more about actually resisting the politics of Trumpism which the Democrats paved the way for. We should - if the occasion calls for it - also be prepared to organise solidarity actions here in Australia.

We should also be clear that in the likely scenario of Trump not staying on, and Biden entering the White House that this is not much of an outcome either. Biden continues the political history of the Democrats, and unsurprisingly has a long history of supporting some of their worst ideas. He will likely be working closely with the Republican leader of the Senate, MitchMcConnell, who Biden has a long history of compromising with[23] despite McConnell being willing to shut down the government to thwart Democratic aims under Obama. This gives Biden the perfect excuse to pivot as far to the right as he wishes, and excuse his actions with reference to needing to placate the Republicans. Leftists should be willing to protest this regime under Biden too, and continue to assert that Black Lives Matter. This means marching alongside people who support the Democrats - as well as the numerous people who don't - and if Biden prepares to visit Australia then we should prepare to protest him just as we were willing to protest Trump. We should expect that the real opposition to Biden will come from social movements like BLM rather than 'class struggle' Democratic congress members fighting him from within.

As anarcho-communists our loyalties must lie not with Trump or Biden (nor even professional politicians from labour or green parties, though we may hold our nose and vote for them here), but rather with the rest of the working class and striking alongside them for social change. It is vital that an independent left organisation be built in the US outside of the Democrats, and one that encourages autonomous working class struggle from below as comrades from Black Rose/Rosa Negra are attempting to do.[24] The famed Eugene V. Debs,[25] a founding member of the IWW in the early 20th century, put it best when he said: "I am not a Labor Leader; I do not want you to follow me or anyone else; if you are looking for a Moses to lead you out of this capitalist wilderness, you will stay right where you are. I would not lead you into the promised land if I could, because if I led you in, some one else would lead you out."

We must also strive to build a serious revolutionary organisation in Australia as our struggle cannot be built from above simply by rearranging who sits within the state bureaucracy. Our own resistance to this racist regime will require a serious libertarian socialist organisation, and even more importantly a revival of independent working class activity if we are to make any headway. We cannot just vote against racism - we as a class need to strike against it.

23 https://jacobinmag.com/2020/02/joe-biden-history-republicans-tax-cuts-barack-obama-yesterdays-man
24 https://www.facebook.com/BRRNfed
25 https://www.marxists.org/archive/debs/works/1918/court.htm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DIRECT ACTION

THE IMPORTANCE OF BEING ROOTED: AN INTERVIEW WITH ANGRY WORKERS WORLD

Daniel al-Rachid

In October, our group participated in a discussion on salting, industrialising, and other related strategies that have the common theme of seeking employment in particular jobs for political reasons. One of the texts was "In Defence of Working Class Existence as a Choice",[1] by the UK-based group Angry Workers of the World.

The Angry Workers are a collective of communists who made the strategic decision to move to a working class neighbourhood of London and take jobs in the low-wage but large-scale industries of the area. These fine comrades were kind enough to answer some of the questions that arose from our discussion.

I can't think of any better way to put this, but how does AWW or the Let's Get Rooted local groups recruit? Among socialists in western democracies at least -- you stand out as pursuing a strategy that requires a lot more commitment than most socialists seem to be able to give. We sometimes struggle to get more than seven or eight people to come to our reading group, and all that involves is reading a couple articles and dropping by for two hours on a weeknight. You're asking people to move to a new neighbourhood and take up a new, badly-paid job. For a lot of people, this will mean a decline in living standards, and it may mean abandoning a university degree or trade apprenticeship or a steady career. How do you do it?

You're right, it's rare to find people who are on an academic or any kind of 'career' path to take on working class jobs. But then, this isn't really an existentialist question, but a question of political strategy. We think that the best way to engage with workers in strategic sectors is to work there yourself, but there are of course other ways. You could spend a lot of time around these industries and have long conversations with workers. You could take a better skilled job in the industry, such as engineering or administration, rather than cleaning or packing. These are options for comrades who have options. For them it will depend on the level of political enthusiasm and determination, which, in times of limited class struggles, will primarily be the result of historical and political discussions.

Then there are many worker comrades who have less options. They are stuck in low paid jobs anyway, so the question is why are they not taking on jobs in more interesting workplaces? This will mainly depend on the question of whether we can build a collective process around it: do we support those who work hard jobs by taking over some of their domestic work and organising social get-togethers? Do we support them by doing some of the research work on

1 https://angryworkersworld.wordpress.com/2019/12/10/in-defence-of-working-class-existence-as-choice/

the sector they work in for them? Do we support them by having regular discussions about what is happening at their workplace?

The comrades we had joining us over the last six years ended up mainly being people from poorer EU countries: Poland, Slovenia, Spain. The increased job opportunities in the UK, plus the higher wages compared to their own countries, made it a more desirable location to work - at least before the Brexit effect saw the value of the pound plunging. So this fact, coupled with the fact that they already were comrades with a similar political outlook, meant that we all benefited from coming together. We all lived together and our rents were pretty low. Of the English comrades who joined us, it's fair to say that the ones perhaps with more 'idealistic' leanings didn't last long. The ones that were already working in manual jobs stayed longer. Looking back, the other main factor for 'sticking it out' seemed to be whether or not you had a partner. Those that did, found things easier in general.

Following on from the above question, underlying the article is a sense that the current de facto strategy of much of the left -- "organise where you are" -- is unsatisfactory, and that there is a need for a more targeted strategy using the limited numbers we already have. How do you identify what areas to target? How do you ensure you're choosing the right one, instead of mistakenly choosing an industry or neighbourhood that may not exist in ten years, or may only possess a very temporary significance in the present? The "organise where you are" strategy has its limitations, but it would presumably avoid the risk of putting all your eggs in one basket.

There are different strategic aspects. With some jobs we just know that they will be of significance in future struggles and social transformation just by the fact that they are crucial for capital accumulation and/or social existence, such as health, transport, energy, food production. It will always be strategically important to work in the major industrial centres, where a lot of workers cooperate closely, such as the automobile sector.

Then there are sectors which see rapid changes, new dynamics, new workers or technologies - and it becomes of strategic importance to understand changes there. Here we could think about call centres or logistics: the sector is a result of the decomposition of industrial strongholds of the 1970s, meaning, logistics became important to connect the various geographically dispersed manufacturing units of former large industrial complexes. Over the last decades, we've seen that warehouses and transport hubs themselves grew massively - a large Amazon warehouse employs as many workers as a car assembly plant. We see a new type of worker, often of migrant background, often multi-skilled, though without a particular professional attachment to the job. This is perhaps a medium-term level of strategic focus.

Another level would be to focus on areas which allow us to answer specific strategic ques-

tions. One of such questions is the relation between intellectual labour (engineers, tech workers, ‘experts’) and mass manual labour today. How much do individual and collective manual workers in a given essential sector know about how their work is organised, how the product is developed, the machines are designed, the supply-chain arranged? How much do they depend on ‘intellectual workers’ and what does the relationship to them look like, e.g. do manual workers have any contact with 'intellectual' workers at all, are ‘intellectual workers’ also taking on management functions? Is the contact mediated through technology?

All of these questions are of importance if we want to understand how a ‘takeover of the means of production’ could look like today. The best way to find out - apart from large scale empirical research - is to get jobs at the junctions between intellectual and manual labour in large-scale industries. There are many other significant questions like that, e.g. the new composition of migrant labour, the question how energy, transport or agricultural workers relate to climate change and so on.

The main thing is to know what you find politically interesting about the job and then try to find out or work on that aspect while you're in that job. The results -if they're shared - will always be useful. You don't have to stay in the same place for ten years or something! Like any job, once you feel you've done all you can, or you reach some kind of dead-end, you look for something else...

One of the concerns raised in the group was that your approach could result in a kind of "workerism", where workers in certain industries like in logistics or food production are prioritised at the expense of those in sectors less obviously essential to the production process, like teachers, childcare workers, carers, sex workers, etc. Manual labourers doing 'masculine' work get romanticised whereas those in typically 'feminine' work get neglected. How would you respond to this? How do you ensure the whole class is being brought together, not just certain sections of it?

First of all, we would question that manual mass labour is ‘masculine’. Food production, warehouse work, picking, packing, cleaning, agricultural labour, hospital workers, electronics or garment manufacturing - are all jobs where a lot of women work. But you're right, strategy is the opposite of focusing on everything. We make no bones about the fact that we think some sectors have a larger potential for mass struggle and a greater significance for social transformation than others. This is not of our choosing, but due to the way capitalism is structured. There are millions of workers whose job it is to care for other working class people - for children, the sick, the elderly - and their number might well be increasing with the average age of the population rising. And it is true that if this work isn’t done, the impact on the productive circuit would be severe.

The problem here is two-fold. If capitalism has achieved anything, it's that it has radically minimised the time necessary for ‘social reproduction’. Domestic work, compared to its role in previous societies, actually becomes increasingly marginal - and that might not be a bad thing! The second problem is that in the current society, this care work is detached from the process of materially changing society. Out of care work you might develop the insight that human relationships need more time and space, but you are separated from the means to actually create more time and space - through lowering the amount of time it takes to produce what we need to live (clothing, housing, energy, food etc.) and to physically changing our surroundings (construction, landscape gardening, agro-planning).

We see an expression of this in the limitations of what street protests manage to actually create, e.g. in the free zones in the USA. Yes, there are food kitchens or improvised nurseries or health stations, but it remains rather haphazard, pretty time consuming, and in the end, often frustrating due to scarcity. Therefore, the actual new collective imaginations of a different society will primarily emerge out of mass struggles of those workers who deal with global transport chains, machines, productive knowledge, soil degradation etc. every day.

The charge of being 'workerist' is applicable in the sense that we think that waged work in 'essential' sectors has the greatest potential for fundamental social change. But this doesn't mean we think other sections of the class are unimportant. The problem always seems to be that more militant sections of, let's say, teachers, have no organic link to food workers in struggle. And without this linking up with sections of the class that actually work to meet our basic human needs, we get stuck. We think our job as revolutionaries should be to help develop these links amongst different sections of the class, but it requires all sections to be in struggle. And overall, 'essential' workers are 'in struggle' - openly at least - far less. This is why we chose to concentrate on them.

Another way we tried to bring different sections of the class together was in our solidarity network. This sought to bring people having trouble with their landlord, say, in touch with people having problems with their temp agency. This is why we got involved in local campaigns to save the libraries or build more social housing in a leisure centre redevelopment. Building a network of local working class people, that can at least effectively defend themselves was the overall aim. But this was never going to be effective purely as a bunch of 'citizens', which is why we always tried to make workplace links alongside the community campaigns. Only when these two can join forces can we turn a corner into offensive struggles.

Your kind of strategy used to be more common in the seventies and eighties (and earlier), when most leftist groups had some level of deliberate working class presence. For one reason or another, most of the groups and people involved in those strategies now oppose them. How do you assess this era of "industrialisation" on

the left? How would you differentiate yourselves from them, and how do you ensure you won't make the same kinds of mistakes they did?

The middle-class left always turns to the working class when workers' are fighting and turns their back on them as soon as they are defeated. There is not much more to say about this.

In addition to your article, we also read one telling the story of a group of Kiwi Trotskyists who pursued an "industrialising" strategy in meat processing plants in the seventies and eighties,[2] the kind of thing mentioned above. The article mentions how they attempted to introduce political causes into the workplace like the anti-apartheid movement -- they invited anti-apartheid speakers to talk to workers during their lunch break, for instance. Do you attempt similar things, do you try and promote activist causes as part of your activity? Why/why not?

Sure. As communists we should of course say what we think about racism, climate change, abortion, gay rights. We should also understand that there is a significant difference between what workers think about these issues if you ask them individually and between how they relate to these issues once they are in a collective process or struggle together. We don't think that our main task is to convince individual workers about this or that issue. Our main task is to support the collective struggle and power of workers. Only workers who feel a degree of power as workers feel that they can be welcoming to minorities.

Why should a worker who feels isolated and powerless be welcoming to new migrants who also look for jobs and housing? Why should a worker - male or female - whose main material refuge is the family, and not their class, be open towards 'non-heteronormativity', or even abortion rights? Why should an airport or oil worker who can barely pay next week's rent embrace the green movement who want to close down their job? The middle-class might have the privilege to be liberal about these questions, workers in general don't. Only in the perspective of class struggle will there be an open ear for the fact that migrant solidarity will actually increase our strength or that as workers we have the power to determine the outcome of the 'energy transition' in the interest of our class and future generations.

The Wildcat article mentioned in your text[3] tells pros to piss off and that everyone can learn everything, but how do we do that practically? How do you suggest we overcome the division of labour and the division between predominantly intellectual and predominantly manual workers in practice? Especially considering that those in the former category are comparatively well-off compared to those in the latter, and so wouldn't have the same impulse to join together in a class struggle. Engineers

2 https://overland.org.au/2018/03/the-turn-to-industry-what-happened-when-left-activists-joined-the-working-class/
3 https://www.wildcat-www.de/en/wildcat/96/e_w96_berufubewegung.html

and production line workers practically live in different worlds, for instance.

A big question that would require more research. We've worked with people who had engineering degrees who worked on the minimum wage to gain ‘work experience’ in manufacturing. There are huge wage differences amongst software programmers or ‘academics’. Recent protests of tech workers at Microsoft or Google have demonstrated that there is discontent - perhaps marginal, but vocal. The discontent is an expression of feeling alienated from their own work and products, e.g. these tech-workers criticise the use of their products by the military. These are cracks and it will be mainly be down to the mass of workers in the essential sector to show to these ‘intellectual workers’ that the working class has its own creative power and that the ‘tech workers’ and their knowledge is needed not as experts who can find a technological fix, but as class brothers and sisters.

Earlier this year, the Angry Workers published a book chronicling their experiences of and reflections on the past six years of their strategy. It’s called “Class Power on Zero-Hours”, and we highly encourage you to buy it! Check out http://www.classpower.net/ to read the introduction and take a look at the reviews.

If you’re in Sydney, contact Jura Books to see if they have copies in; otherwise, you can order it by emailing them at angryworkersworld@gmail.com.

For more, check out their blog at angryworkersworld.wordpress.com, or their wider ‘Let’s Get Rooted’ project at letsgetrooted.wordpress.com. Keep up to date with them on Facebook at https://www.facebook.com/angryworkersworld/. They welcome reports on local struggles and people’s reflections on their jobs.

PRIMITIVE AND ONGOING ACCUMULATION

Percy Hill

Capitalism is embedded in every corner of our society. It's difficult to imagine what life must have been like before capitalism existed and, more crucially, how the current system may end. Before capitalism was hegemonic, the European masses were under the yoke of feudalism; a system where peasants labour on the land in service of their lords, who in turn serve their monarchs. The question, then, is 'how did we get from there to here?' Marx's concept of primitive accumulation offers a partial answer.

Today, capitalists control the means of production (i.e. tools, machinery, factories, etc). Workers lacking their own means of production have to sell their labour power to capitalists in exchange for access to the means of production. However, capitalists extract profits off workers' unpaid surplus labour once their wage is accounted for. The extracted surplus value allows capitalists to accumulate greater amounts of money that can be deployed into either expanding more capitalistic production, personal wealth investments, or to pay for indulgences. As the capitalist class must compete amongst themselves in the market, there is a tendency to reproduce the system, expand and to accumulate as much as possible. Marx realised that such a system requires some form of prior accumulation, aptly named primitive accumulation, in order to start the process of capitalist reproduction.

"The whole movement, therefore, seems to turn in a vicious circle, out of which we can only get by supposing a primitive accumulation (previous accumulation of Adam Smith) preceding capitalistic accumulation; an accumulation not the result of the capitalistic mode of production, but its starting point."[1]

This was the material driver that pushed feudal Europe towards capitalism by abolishing the peasantry, forcing the creation of the working class.

Liberal contemporaries in Marx's lifetime thought that the divide between the capitalists and the workers had its origin in a natural difference in temperament. Those that became the capitalists possessed positive attributes such as self-restraint, work ethic, and entrepreneurship, whereas the labouring masses were "the other, lazy rascals, spending their substance, and more, in riotous living."[2]

1 Karl Marx, Capital A Critique of Political Economy Volume I Book One: The Process of Production of Capital, CH 26: The Secret of Primitive Accumulation, P.507, link: https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/download/pdf/Capital-Volume-I.pdf
2 ibid

Marx disagreed with this convenient view and instead noted that feudal peasants were violently kicked off the lands and the commons were enclosed. This caused untold destruction and death of the peasantry. By depriving peasants of their land they were made a 'free' worker. 'Free' in the sense that they were no longer tethered to their own means of production. 'Free' to wander the earth finding whatever employment they could. And, most significantly, 'free' from indenture to a feudal lord. Workers can now choose between exploitation or starvation. Progress!

The speed of this process often created a large surplus labour force that was unable to find work. As a result, the unemployed were criminalised and harshly disciplined: "For the second arrest for vagabondage the whipping is to be repeated and half the ear sliced off; but for the third relapse the offender is to be executed as a hardened criminal and enemy of the common weal."[3] Capitalism successfully pitted the employed and the reserve army of labour against themselves, intensifying the competition for workers to accept lower wages and worse working conditions.

THE PRESENT

Primitive accumulation explains the initial boundary conditions between feudalism and capitalism. However, once the logics of capital accumulation were entrenched they propagated similar forms of accumulation under imperialism. Rosa Luxemburg argues in The Accumulation of Capital that this process like primitive accumulation is also inherently violent: "'Sweating blood and filth with every pore from head to toe characterises not only the birth of capital but also its progress in the world at every step, and thus capitalism prepares its own downfall under ever more violent contortions and convulsions."[4]

More recently, marxist David Harvey applied this similarly when he developed the process he calls 'accumulation by dispossession',[5] whereby modern neoliberal capitalists privatise public assets, financialise the economy and tip the tax scales in their favour relative to working people in order to fuel accumulation. Capitalism requires continual growth and when the existing markets have been saturated, it will forcibly expand into new areas with a voracious hunger that disregards the human cost or externalities such as climate change or the proliferation of antibiotic-resistant bacteria caused by factory farming. Feudalism may largely be over but whatever non-capitalist part of the world exists is at risk of being expropriated into capitalism.

3 Karl Marx, Capital A Critique of Political Economy Volume I Book One: The Process of Production of Capital, CH 28: Bloody Legislation Against the Expropriated, from the End of the 15th Century. Forcing Down of Wages by Acts of Parliament, P.522

4 Rosa Luxemburg, The Accumulation of Capital, Section Three The Historical Conditions of Accumulation, CH 31: Protective Tariffs and Accumulation (1913), Link: https://www.marxists.org/archive/luxemburg/1913/accumulation-capital/ch31.htm

5 David Harvey, The 'New' Imperialism: Accumulation by Dispossession, Vol 40: Socialist Register 2004: The New Imperial Challenge, link: https://socialistregister.com/index.php/srv/article/view/5811/2707

WHAT CAN ANARCHISTS LEARN FROM PRIMITIVE ACCUMULATION?

The simplicity and explanatory power of primitive accumulation elucidates many fruitful forms of analysing and historicising our present and possible future. The development of false consciousness is a by-product of capitalist reproduction as the newly formed working class needed to be forced to accept their conditions. As Marx puts it, "The advance of capitalist production develops a working class, which by education, tradition, habit, looks upon the conditions of that mode of production as self-evident laws of Nature."[6]

The violence and disciplining done to both the new labouring classes and the unemployed forced an increasing number of workers to accept capitalism as the normal state of affairs. Primitive accumulation dispels the lie of all defenders of private property and the modern state that enables it. These defenders attempt to divorce the violence that established the hegemony of these abstract principles from the real violence that created and still maintains them. The creation of this false consciousness is only very recent and could be changed again, though it won't be easy.

HISTORICAL TENDENCY, CONTINGENCY AND THE POWER OF ORGANISATION

The progenitors of the capitalist class were forceful, organised and ready to take advantage of events that couldn't easily be predicted. Marx notes that, "The process of forcible expropriation of the people received in the 16th century a new and frightful impulse from the Reformation, and from the consequent colossal spoliation of the church property. The Catholic church was, at the time of the Reformation, feudal proprietor of a great part of the English land. The suppression of the monasteries, &c., hurled their inmates into the proletariat."[7]

In Capital Volume 1, Marx explains that primitive accumulation set up the foundation for the extraction of surplus value present in capitalist reproduction. This led to his bold prediction in Volume 3 that there was a tendency for the rate of profit to fall as capital shifted from variable (human labour) to constant (machines and materials etc) due to the intensification of competition. History has born this out as the rate of profit has declined from 1869 till today with some notable reversals, such as the neoliberal recovery from 1980's till the mid 1990's[8], which saw a highly organised and successful attempt by the capitalist class to move away from post-war

6 Karl Marx, Capital A Critique of Political Economy Volume I Book One: The Process of Production of Capital, Chapter 28: Bloody Legislation Against the Expropriated, from the End of the 15th Century. Forcing Down of Wages by Acts of Parliament, P.523

7 Karl Marx, Capital A Critique of Political Economy Volume I Book One: The Process of Production of Capital, Chapter 27: Expropriation of the Agricultural Population From the Land, P.511 - 512

8 Michael Roberts, A world rate of profit: a new approach, link: https://thenextrecession.files.wordpress.com/2020/07/wrp-2.png

Keynesianism. Capitalists outsourced production, creating new markets through an intensification of international trade and the privatisation of public assets as well as the smashing of labour union density. As a result, they were able to recover from the declining rate of profit. No longer able to stand up to capital in an organised fashion, the working class in the post-industrial west saw itself made increasingly precarious and exploitable, whilst the working class in the rest of the world laboured in horrific conditions to manufacture commodities for western markets.

The tension between more economically deterministic accounts of social revolution and the voluntary role of organising towards one has often been hard to reconcile. This doesn't need to be the case however if this historical trajectory towards the decline in the rate of profit is merely a tendency, as Marx claims. Better to look at history as contingent upon multiple causes rather than as prescribed by ironclad economic laws. Recognising the ability to affect the economy through interventions allows us to organise, just like the capitalists did when neoliberalism was implemented. It allows us to imagine what the end of capitalism might look like. We don't need to throw up our hands in despair to struggle for a better world. Just as primitive accumulation shows that some prior form of accumulation was necessary to create the conditions for capitalism, and the neoliberal recovery shows that the decline in the rate of profit can be temporarily reversed; the role of organising is clear. The anarcho-communist organisation ought to be working to strengthen the organisational structures within the working class along libertarian lines to create the social force necessary to not only overcome the authoritarian structures of the state and the workplace but to be poised to abolish the value form itself when given the chance. Without the value form, no surplus value from the worker can be extracted. This can only be done through mass class struggle. For as Pierre-Joseph Proudhon demonstrated, working collectively, people are able to accomplish what any individual or small group could never accomplish: "Two hundred grenadiers stood the obelisk of Luxor upon its base in a few hours; do you suppose that one man could have accomplished the same task in two hundred days?"[9]

Why would we expect this to be any different when it comes to the struggle against the state and capital? Only through organising en masse together can this be achieved. Capitalism is a system reeling from one crisis to the next and we need to be ready to take advantage of whatever crises eventuates. For if we aren't, the capitalists surely are.

Let's be ready.

9 Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, What is Property? An Inquiry into the Principle of Right and of Government, Chapter 3. Labor As The Efficient Cause Of The Domain Of Property, § 5. — That Labor leads to Equality of Property, link: https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/pierre-joseph-proudhon-what-is-property-an-inquiry-into-the-principle-of-right-and-of-government

IN CONVERSATION WITH BLACK ROSE/ROSA NEGRA

James Sherriff

The best way to learn from the experience of our comrades is to talk to them and, fortunately enough, Sydney Ancoms recently had the opportunity to discuss anarchist organising with a member of the Black Rose/Rosa Negra (BRRN) Federation in the US. The discussion was broad, insightful and inspiring. Below are just a few of the notable takeaways from our conversation based on lessons from the past, reflections on current organising, and ideas for the future.

1. ORGANISATIONS MUST BE WELL-STRUCTURED AND IDEOLOGICALLY, POLITICALLY, AND STRATEGICALLY CLEAR FROM THE START.

One of the most important lessons learned from the dissolution of the Love and Rage anarchist federation which preceded BRRN was the need to establish strong, democratic decision-making structures and a clear vision for revolutionary change right from the outset. To avoid the disputes and divisions which eventually dissolved Love and Rage, BRRN has made clear the full extent of its revolutionary vision from its inception through its mission statement, 12 points of unity and organisational principles, which all militants must strictly adhere to. The clear and extensive processes for integrating new members into the Federation help to ensure this strategic and theoretical unity is fully realised, and that BRRN militants understand the responsibilities and expectations that come with being an active member of the Federation. This shifts the organisation from being simply a network of broadly aligned anarchist activists to a strong, coherent political organisation, which can effectively intervene in social movement organising and general political discourse at local, regional, and national levels.

Another key lesson was the need for strong grievance and conflict resolution protocols to be developed and agreed to early on, as these are nearly impossible to retrofit onto an established organisation.

2. BALANCE IS CRUCIAL

The development of a nationwide federation of anarchists will naturally generate competing interests and needs, and finding an appropriate balance is necessary to continue growing as a movement.

The growth of the movement is itself a key example of this tension, as the drive to expand the organisation is obviously strong and yet, as noted above, ensuring that all militants are unified and politically/strategically coherent is also essential. BRRN has struck a balance here by quite strictly limiting its intake of new members, and focusing on expanding its reach through social insertion - i.e. involvement in local and regional community organisations and unions.

As a result, the Federation's impact is impressive for its relatively small size in raw numbers, but it is worth considering whether strict membership is necessary to this extent. If recruiting more widely and openly could bring in large numbers of new members and collectives, this would exponentially increase the influence of the Federation, especially if the same integration processes and strict militant responsibilities were upheld for all new members.

Another area of tension is in ensuring that internal, federation-level coordination work is decentralised and anti-hierarchical while also being as efficient and effective as possible. To maintain an anti-authoritarian structure, BRRN militants must not be incentivised to pursue 'leadership' positions at the centre of the organisation at the expense of local direct action. However, people must also be willing to take on the higher-level coordination roles that are necessary for the Federation to flourish. BRRN resolves this issue by requiring militants to be actively involved in organising in three different ways: firstly, in their local BRRN chapter; secondly, in an intermediary organisation from one of the three social movement ‘fronts’ identified by BRRN (labour organising, housing and territorial issues, and abolitionist and anti-criminalisation campaigning); and lastly, in one of the six core internal committees that exist for Federation-wide organising. If people are not able to take on such a high level of commitment, they can be involved just at the local chapter level, but militants cannot be only involved in internal, federation-wide organising work. This works to structurally enforce the necessary balance between local and higher-level organising, but it is worth considering how this balance might be achieved in other organisations of smaller size or with lower capacity.

3. THE NEXT INTERNATIONAL IS ON ITS WAY!

One of the more inspiring moments from our conversation with BRRN was their observation that anarchism internationally has been experiencing a surge and that anarchist movements, organisations, and collectives have been emerging with renewed vigour. Anarchists’ obsessions with anti-hierarchy at the expense of organisation and unity, which have long held back the movement are now starting to shift, and it would seem that many isolated and insurrectionary anarchists are now beginning to embrace the strength of well-organised and well-structured collective action. The growth of anarchist-communist collectives worldwide and the broader acceptance of the need for mass movement, anti-authoritarian politics is an inspiring development that should offer a boost to our humble efforts at building libertarian socialism here in Sydney. Though there is of course a long way to go until the next International, at least we know we have something to look forward to.

We thank the representative from BRRN who so kindly stayed up late into their night to talk with us, and look forward to many more conversations in future.

FURTHER READINGS

THE MEANS AND ENDS OF REVOLUTION: ON ANARCHISM AND LENINISM

Zoe Baker, Means and Ends: The Anarchist Critique of Seizing State Power, link: https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/anarchopac-means-and-ends

"Two Routes: Reform or Revolution? Freedom or dictatorship?", "The Dictatorship of The Proletariat and Anarchy", "Anarchists Have Forgotten Their Principles" in The Method of Freedom by Errico Malatesta.

Wayne Price, The First International and the Development of Anarchism and Marxism, liink: https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/wayne-price-the-first-international-and-the-development-of-anarchism-and-marxism

ON THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

Maurice Brinton, The Bolsheviks and Workers Control

Ida Mett, The Kronstadt Uprising

Emma Goldman, The Persecution Of The Anarchists

Emma Goldman, There Is No Communism In Russia

Workers Solidarity Movement, How Lenin led to Stalin, link: https://libcom.org/history/how-lenin-led-stalin-workers-solidarity-movement

Alexander Berkman, The Kronstadt Rebellion

Black Rose Federation, Red and Black October: An Anarchist Perspective on the Russian Revolution for its 100th Anniversary

COPS AND SCREWS OUTTA MARDI GRAS!

https://www.facebook.com/PrideInProtest

SEX WORK IS WORK! ANALYSING STIGMATISED LABOUR UNDER CAPITALISM

Gregor Gall, An Agency of Their Own, link: https://drive.google.com/file/d/1AlpnCND-Waek0DS7q8tUWtfkLZMR5yUq8/view?fbclid=IwAR3yyJV9NEtStT4UN_R5L4YlejZB__oJm-siXNikk8g5dh1O6KRngDdX2-Bw

Melissa Gira Grant, Playing the Whore, link: https://drive.google.com/file/d/1YSERxDBuQh-linq2DhAEYtUBt1Ja1q2IR/view?fbclid=IwAR2a61ll11o9_E6a9IXVTVShqeT2mSjg1gIxm8ln-057LIVGLz1xBrMqGoiU

Alek Nielsen, On The “Nordic Model”: The Ongoing Criminalization Of Sex Workers, link: https://medium.com/pulpmag/nordic-model-the-ongoing-criminalization-of-sex-workers-in-northern-europe-c1df02ba94ae
Working Class History, Episode 20: The Exotic Dancers Union, link: https://workingclasshistory.com/2019/03/13/e20-the-exotic-dancers-union/
Raelene Frances & Alicia Gray, Unsatisfactory, Discriminatory, Unjust and Inviting Corruption - Feminists and the Decriminalisation of Street Prostitution in New South Wales, link: https://drive.google.com/file/d/1nWYlplfRnB_580AOe7AW8NAKD5SBPHSO/view?fbclid=IwAR2Tnu32OVnP1Pta-6l6zP2IXVVeRxFToMHqjvWpnXaT4cTDAfqAgLXtkpw

PRIMITIVE AND ONGOING ACCUMULATION

Karl Marx, Capital A Critique of Political Economy Volume I Book One: The Process of Production of Capital, Part 8: Primitive Accumulation, P.506, link: https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/download/pdf/Capital-Volume-I.pdf
Rosa Luxemburg, The Accumulation of Capital, Section Three The Historical Conditions of Accumulation, CH 31: Protective Tariffs and Accumulation (1913), Link: https://www.marxists.org/archive/luxemburg/1913/accumulation-capital/ch31.htm
David Harvey, The 'New' Imperialism: Accumulation by Dispossession, Vol 40: Socialist Register 2004: The New Imperial Challenge, link: https://socialistregister.com/index.php/srv/article/view/5811/2707

CONTRIBUTIONS

Feedback and general engagement from readers is important to any serious radical journal. As such, we encourage anyone with thoughts or questions to submit letters to us to be printed in future bulletins. Contributions should be no greater than 300 words, and should be related to content in the bulletin or to Australian politics generally.

Those wishing to contribute art to the bulletin are also strongly encouraged to e-mail us.

Though we prioritise generating articles through our reading group, if you would like to contribute a longer article of your own, please e-mail us with your proposal and it can be discussed.

sydneyancoms@gmail.com

IS IT ALREADY OVER?

Toby Violet D'Mango

Is it over already?
Destined to recline in a leather arm chair
raising the glasses
Solidarity!
it pours
water drowns the street
the foyer's flooding, the banks are floating away
away away from reach.

———— don't taste a single drop
I want to love more than I could ever know
though I'm but an ember in the snow
turn this love into a loving rage
tend this fire in the lifting rain.

This bulletin was written, designed, and produced by the Sydney Anarcho-Communists from our weekly reading group. We are a libertarian socialist group formed along a shared affinity for the tendencies of anarchism: the organised struggle for a society coordinated on the basis of solidarity and without the interference of the state or capitalist bosses, and communism: that this society will be organised around each according to their ability and human need rather than profit and exploitation. This world will only be possible when working people take the reins of society from the state and the capitalists and run it for themselves.

Everyone interested in the ideas of anarcho-communism is warmly welcomed to attend our weekly reading group from 6pm-8pm at Monster Mouse Studios, 9 Gerald St Marrickville.
For updates on the reading groups, its readings and topics and general information, request to join our Melbourne/Sydney Facebook Group “Ancom Reading Group”: https://www.facebook.com/groups/838449613333624, our Facebook Page “Sydney Anarcho-Communists“: https://www.facebook.com/Sydney-Anarcho-Communists-106535081162644 and our Twitter "@sydneyancoms": https://twitter.com/sydneyancoms

May we always carry a new world in our hearts!

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